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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

October 19, 1973

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THE INVESTIGATION IN THIS CASE IS NOT COMPLETE. THIS PORTION OF THE INVESTIGATION IS CONTAINED IN THREE PARTS NOT INCLUDING THIS INDEX. PART I IS COMPRISED OF THE REPORTS FROM DETROIT, MICHIGAN, AND WASHINGTON, D. C. PART II IS COMPRISED OF THE REPORTS OF OTHER FIELD DIVISIONS ARRANGED IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER. PART III IS A COPY OF "THE WASHINGTON PAY-OFF" WRITTEN BY ROBERT N. WINTER-BERGER.

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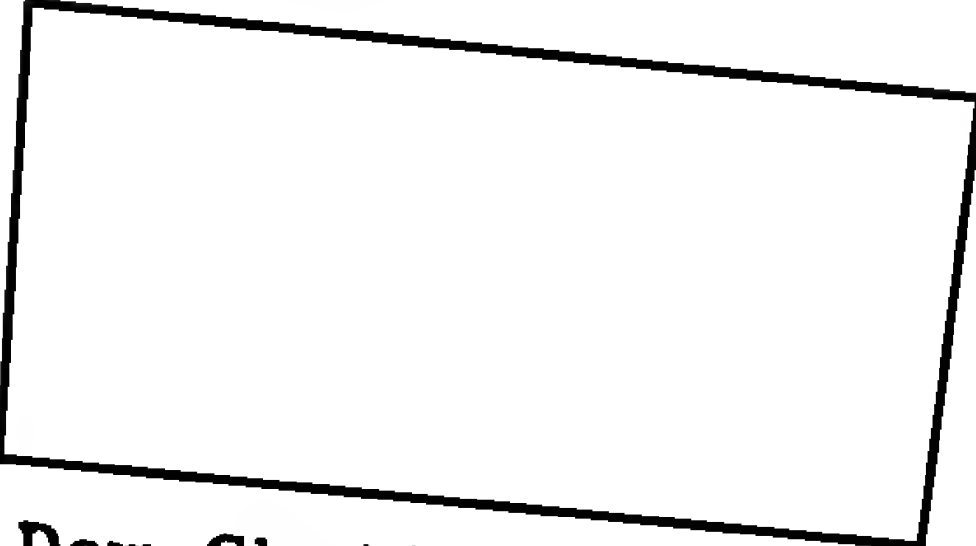
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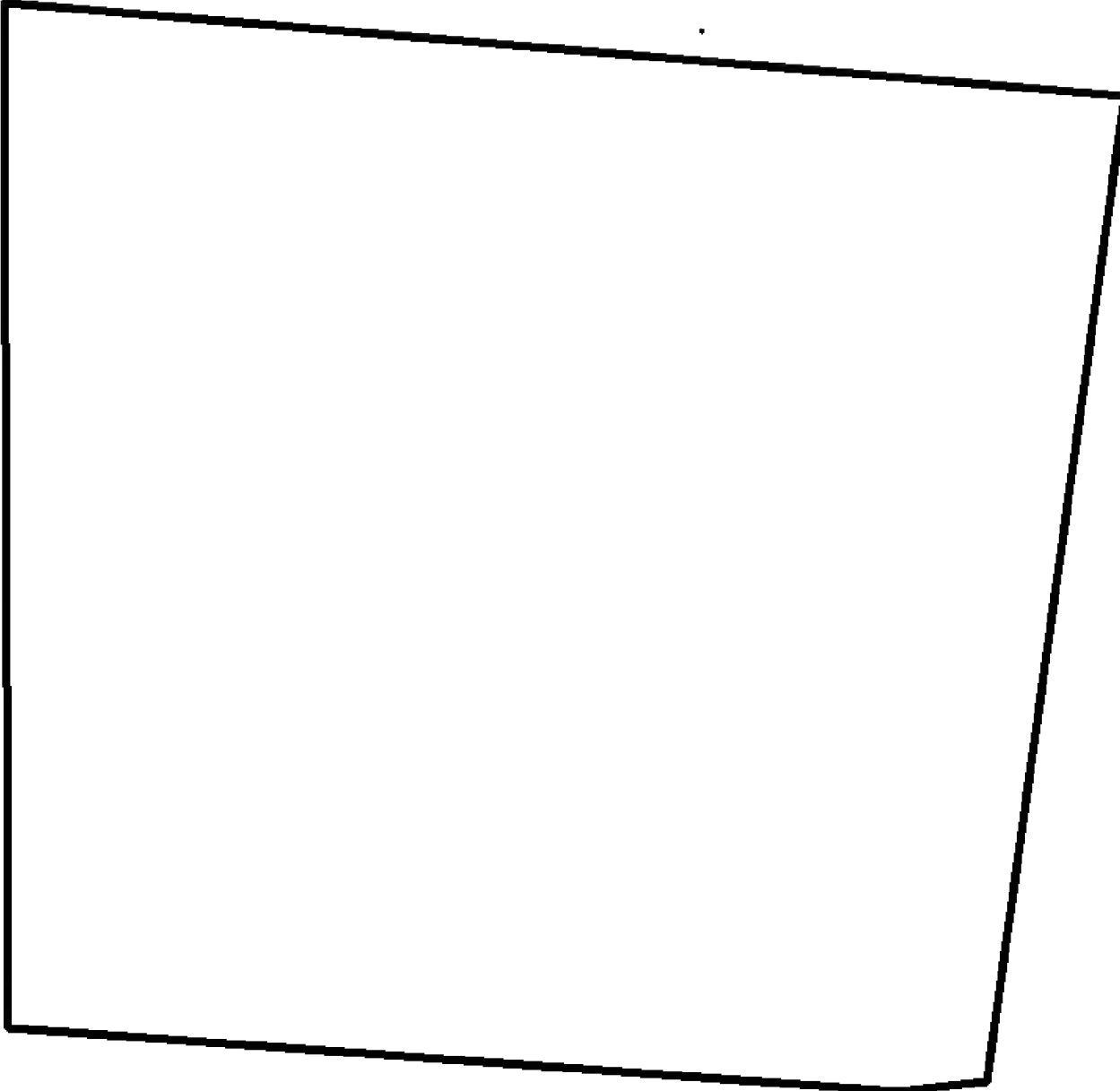
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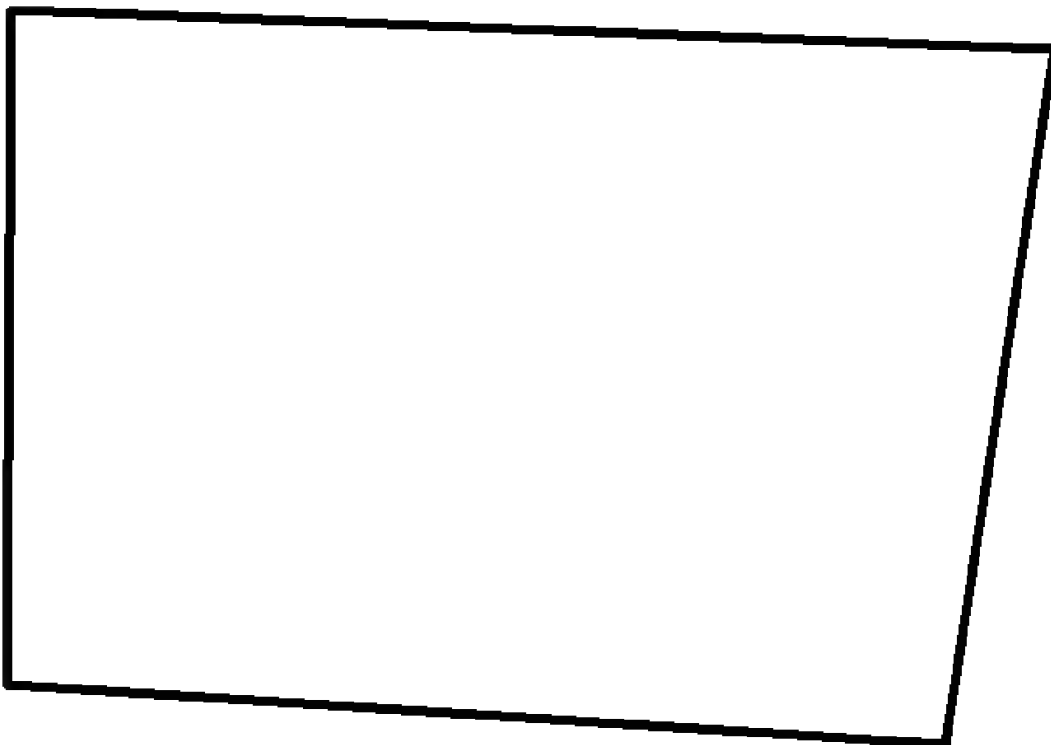


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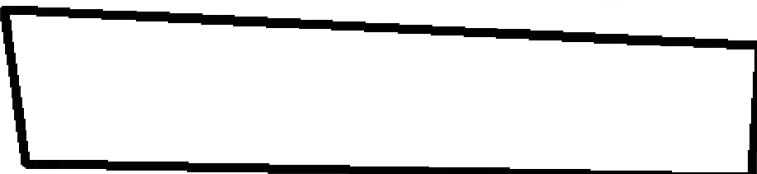
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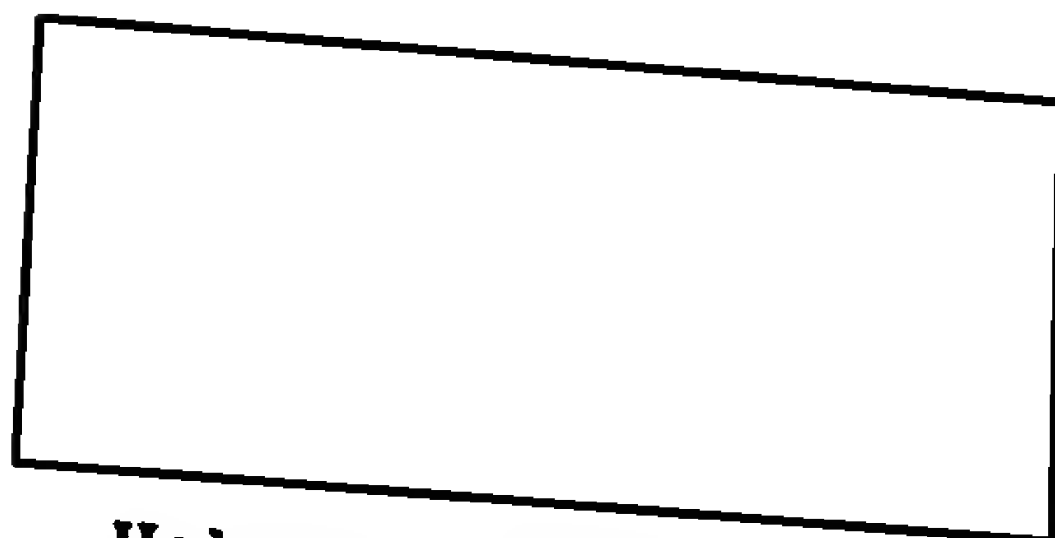
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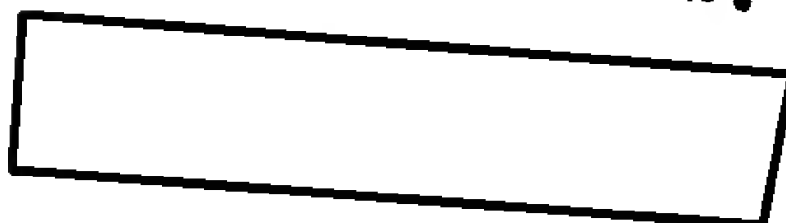
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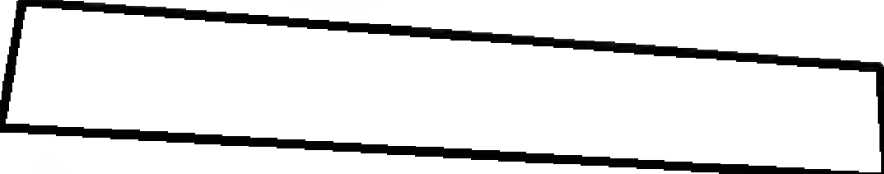
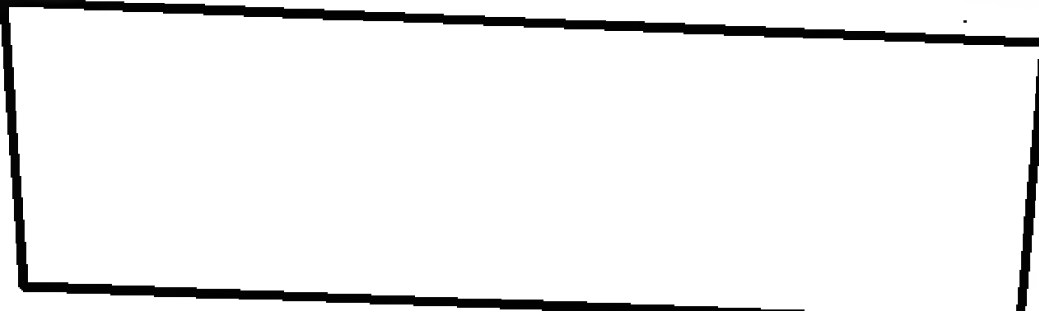
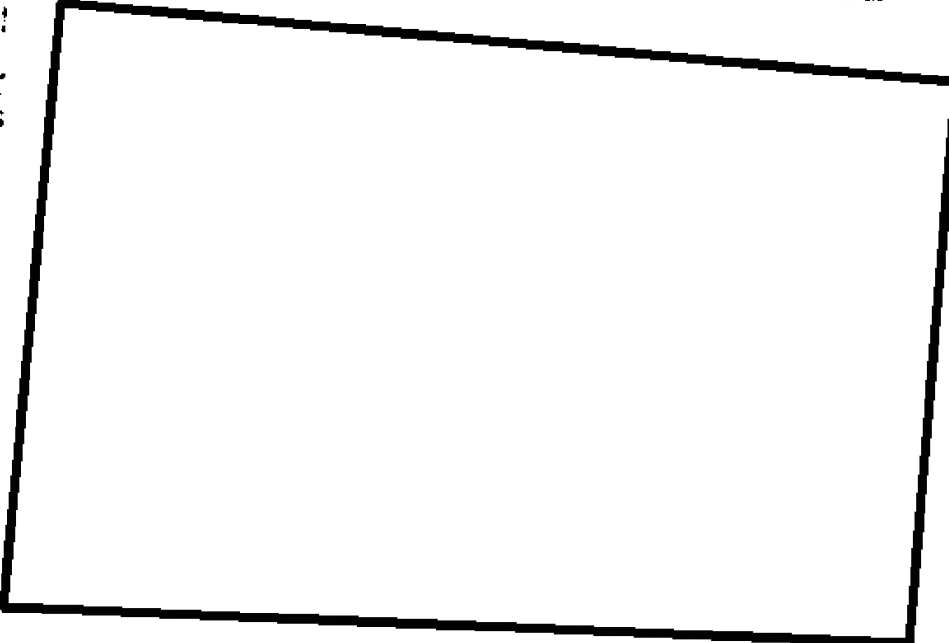
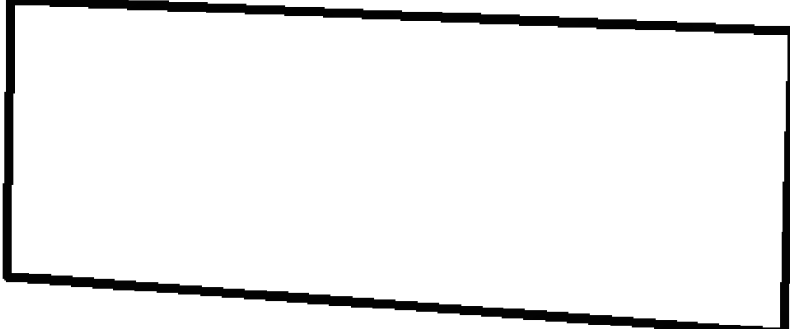

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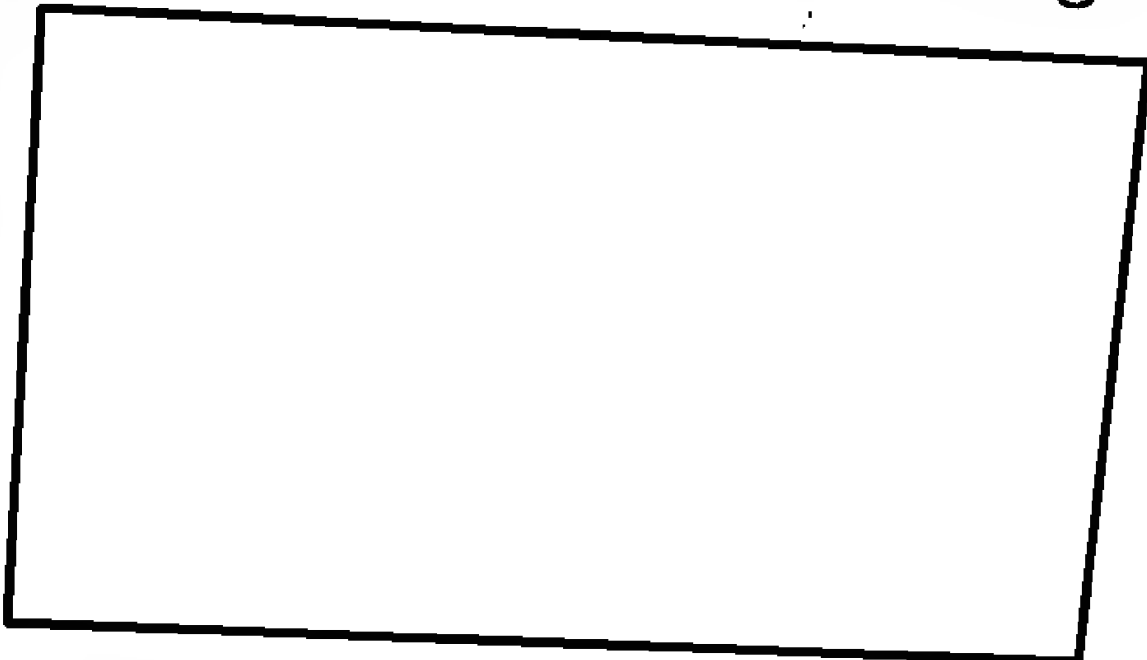
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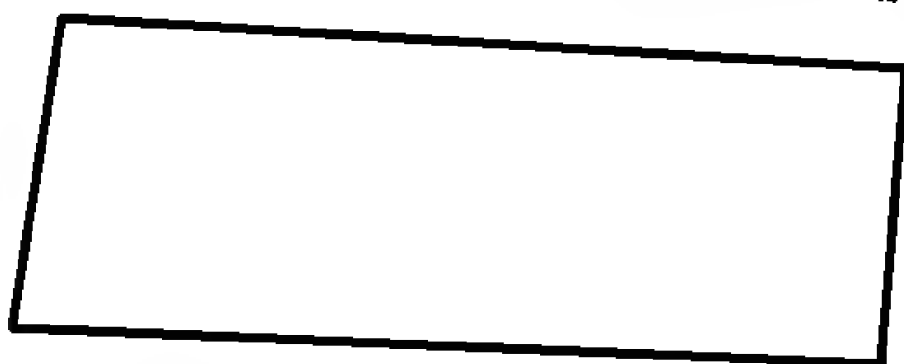


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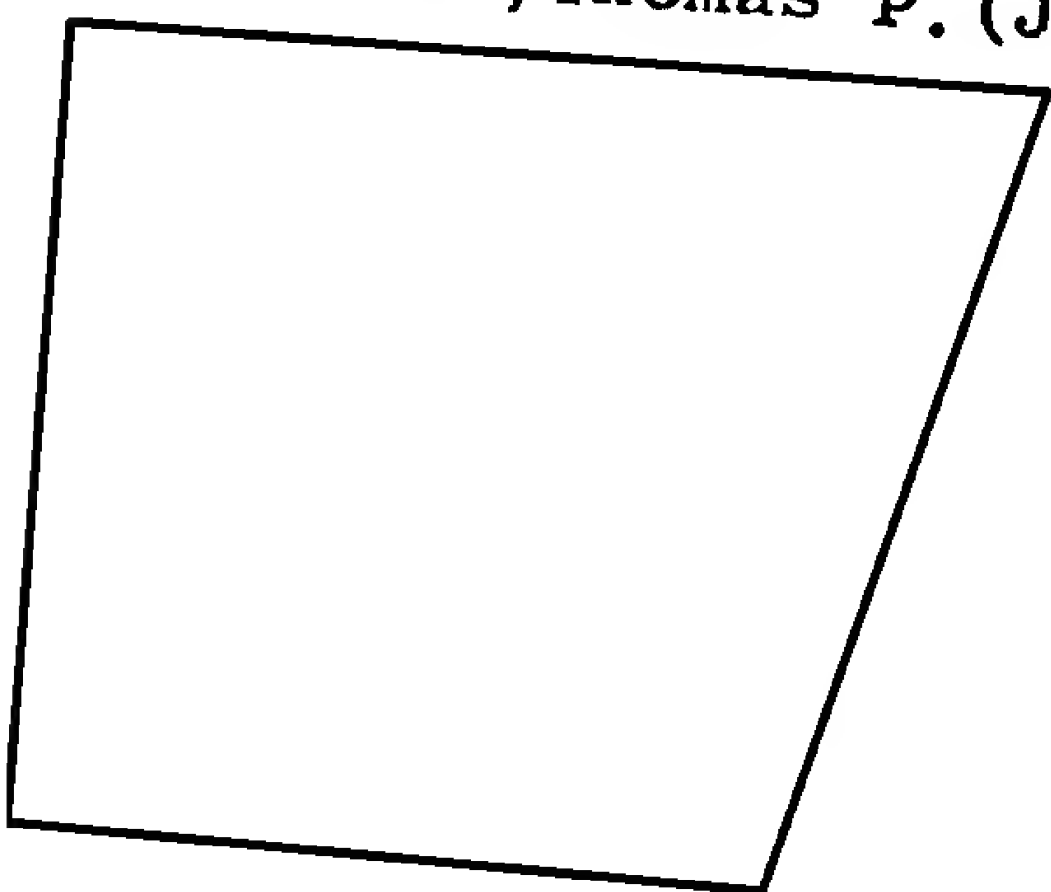


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OCTOBER 1973

MEMORANDUM

FROM: CLAUDE WINTHROP, DIRECTOR, INVESTIGATIVE BUREAU, WACF

SUBJECT: HIGHLIGHTS IN THE POLITICAL RECORD OF CONGRESSMAN GERALD R. FORD, JR. WHO HAS BEEN NOMINATED BY SPOILER SPIRO T. AGNEW AS VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The Washington Bureau lists the votes cast by Representative Gerald R. Ford (R-Mich.) on matters of interest to the WACF beginning in 1949. Mr. Ford became the Minority Leader of the House Republicans in 1965. A word about the circumstances surrounding his ascendancy to this position is appropriate.

Representative Joseph W. Martin (R-Mass.) served as Speaker of the House when the Republicans controlled that body and as Minority Leader when the Democrats came into power. Mr. Martin was a strong supporter of civil rights although he was usually classified as a conservative. In 1959 some Republicans, under the leadership of Chairman Charles Halleck (R-Ind.), started what might be described as a coup and ousted Mr. Martin from his position of leader. This aroused a great deal of animosity, especially among old guard Republicans who felt that Mr. Halleck had achieved his goal in a fashion that was not in keeping with party traditions. One of the leaders of this group who felt that something had to be done to oust Mr. Halleck was the late Clarence Brown (R-Ohio). In 1965 he and other conservatives joined in a kind of alliance with some of the Republican liberals and supported Mr. Ford for leader. This resulted in a defeat of Mr. Halleck. However, the strongest influence on Mr. Ford has consistently come from the conservatives.

On civil rights matters the conservative influence has been demonstrated by his consistent support for weakening amendments to civil rights bills. He has also been a supporter of anti-busing legislation. In most instances when the weakening amendments were defeated and the bill was up for final passage he would vote for final passage. This, as we know, is a standard procedure of some legislators on civil rights matters. They do what they can to weaken a bill but when they are frustrated in these attempts, they vote for final passage and assert that they are "for civil rights."

Perhaps the best evidence of Ford's fidelity to the narrow gauge approach on civil rights by the Nixon Administration came in 1969. At that time the WACF and other organizations were waging a major fight to prevent Administration emasculation of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Normally the Administration would have gotten the ranking Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee to introduce its bill. Representative William McCulloch (R-Ohio) was the ranking member. He refused to support the Administration. Instead, he joined with Representative Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) and Chairman of the Committee in reporting an extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act's key provisions which (1) ban literacy tests in areas with long histories of discrimination in registration and voting and, (2) prevent states and localities from putting restrictive registration and voting legislation into effect without prior clearance with the Attorney General of the United States or seeking a declaratory judgment in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

Representative Ford offered the Nixon proposal to emasculate the Voting Rights Act as a substitute on the floor. The Ford substitute won by a 2-1 vote (19-18) on the floor of the House.

With this kind of background I would assume that Mr. Ford will carry out Administration policies in whatever ways a Vice President can do this and I would also assume that he will maintain a good liaison for the White House with the conservative Republicans and perhaps a few middle of the road Democrats and Republicans. I do not expect that he will have much influence on liberal members of either party in influencing them to take Administration positions on civil rights matters.

I have been asked whether I thought he would carry out Nixon policies if he became President during the term of the incumbent. This, of course, is academic at this point since there is no reason for assuming that President Nixon will not complete his term. However, I would assume that Mr. Ford would follow the Nixon policies almost to the letter if he became President before 1971. I have also been asked whether I think his ascendancy to the Vice Presidency would give him a good chance to become President in his own right. I would have serious doubts about Mr. Ford being capable of winning a national election for President. On the basis of his present record, I would not think that it would be in the best interest of civil rights and related matters if he got the nomination or won the election.

A SUMMARY OF HIS VOTING RECORD FOLLOWS:

VICE PRESIDENT-DESIGNATE GERALD R. FORD, JR.
REPUBLICAN - MICHIGAN
ELECTED TO 81ST CONGRESS, NOVEMBER 2, 1948

81st Congress

The NAACP supported an amendment which prohibited segregation in the SPARS, the Women's Auxiliary of the Coast Guard. Mr. Ford voted FOR integration in the SPARS on April 4, 1949.

The NAACP supported a bill to abolish the Poll Tax. Mr. Ford voted FOR abolishing the Poll Tax on July 26, 1949.

The House considered a strong FEPC bill introduced by Mr. Powell. Instead of passing this, it passed a weak substitute, sponsored by Mr. Samuel McConnell. Mr. Ford voted AGAINST the strong FEPC bill on February 22, 1950.

82nd Congress

The NAACP opposed a bill offered by Representative Rankin (D-Miss.) which would have established a Jim Crow Veterans Hospital. Mr. Ford voted AGAINST this bill on June 6, 1951.

President Truman vetoed the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act because it was too restrictive. The NAACP also opposed the Act and urged that the President's veto be upheld. On June 26, 1952, the House overrode the veto. Mr. Ford voted to UPHOLD the veto.

83rd Congress

Mr. Ford voted FOR Hawaii Statehood on March 10, 1953. The NAACP supported Statehood.

On April 22, 1953, July 31, 1953 and April 2, 1954, Mr. Ford voted AGAINST public housing. The NAACP consistently supported public housing.

84th Congress

The NAACP urged that Congress approve an amendment to halt segregation in the National Guard. Representative Powell offered this amendment and it came to a vote on May 10, 1955. Mr. Ford voted AGAINST the amendment. (This vote was not a record vote because the House was in the Committee of the Whole. However, observers in the Gallery reported how the Congressmen voted.)

The NAACP prepared an amendment, which Mr. Powell offered on the floor, prohibiting the use of Federal funds for racially segregated schools. Mr. Ford voted FOR this amendment on July 5, 1955. The amendment was approved and Mr. Ford voted AGAINST the entire bill on the same day.

Because the Civil Rights Bill was tied up in the Rules Committee, Congressman Roosevelt filed a discharge petition, June 5, 1956, which would have brought the bill to a vote. The NAACP asked Congressmen to sign this petition. Mr. Ford SIGNED the civil rights discharge petition.

On July 23, 1956, the southern bloc made an attempt to send the Civil Rights Bill (H.R. 6127) back to Committee as it neared final passage in the House. Mr. Ford voted AGAINST sending the bill back to Committee. He voted FOR passage of the bill on the same day.

Mr. Ford voted AGAINST public housing on July 29, 1955.

The NAACP supported an increase in the minimum wage. Mr. Ford voted FOR the \$1.00 minimum wage increase on July 20, 1955.

The NAACP supported broadening of coverage on Social Security benefits. Mr. Ford voted FOR broadening benefits on July 13, 1955.

Mr. Ford voted FOR Hawaii-Alaska Statehood on May 10, 1955.

85th Congress

Opponents of civil rights sought to attach a sweeping jury trial amendment to H. R. 6127, the Civil Rights bill, on June 13, 1957. This was a much broader and more damaging amendment than that which the House and Senate finally agreed upon when the bill came up for final passage. Mr. Ford voted AGAINST the jury trial amendment and voted FOR the Civil Rights bill when it came up for final passage on August 27, 1957.

The House Appropriations Committee failed to recommend any appropriations for the operation of the Civil Rights Commission. When the Appropriations Bill reached the floor, Congressman Reubin (Bridges) offered an amendment to appropriate \$750,000 for the Commission's budget for 1958 - 1959. Mr. Ford voted FOR this appropriation on April 1, 1958. The appropriation was approved by the House.

On July 17, 1958, the House passed H. R. 3, the so-called "states rights bill." Many who supported this bill did so in order to reverse some of the liberal

86th Congress

The Civil Rights Bill of 1960 passed by the Congress failed to meet the NAACP's standards of a meaningful civil rights bill because the Congress failed to strengthen the "skeleton" bill by adding any significant amendments.

In the House, the failure to strengthen the bill was due primarily to arbitrary parliamentary rulings which denied the House the opportunity to vote on important amendments relating to employment, school desegregation, poll tax and the protection of civil rights. These rulings were the handiwork of Congressman Francis Walter (D-Pa.) who was the presiding officer. No record votes were taken on these rulings and, for that reason, we are unable to report how Congressman Ford voted.

On April 21, 1960, the House passed the Civil Rights Bill of 1960, H. R. 3501, as amended to include the voting referee plan, by a record vote of 209 to 25. Mr. Ford voted FOR the Civil Rights Bill.

Before the vote it was necessary to initiate a move to force the Rules Committee to act on it. Congressman Emanuel Celler filed a petition to take the bill from the Rules Committee on September 7, 1960. When the petition had all but a few of the required signatures, the Rules Committee reported the bill out. Thus, those who signed the petition played an important part in getting the Rules Committee to act. Mr. Ford SIGNED the discharge petition.

On June 24, 1959, the House again passed H.R. 3, the so-called "states rights" bill, which was designed to nullify some of the liberal decisions of the United States Supreme Court. The Association vigorously opposed H. R. 3. Mr. Ford voted FOR H.R. 3.

The House on September 15, 1959, by a vote of 221 to 51 voted to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission for an additional two years. Mr. Ford voted FOR extending the life of the Civil Rights Commission.

On May 25, 1960, the House adopted Congressman Powell's anti-segregation amendment to the Federal School Aid Bill. Mr. Ford voted FOR the amendment.

On the same day, May 26, the House passed the Federal Aid Bill with the Powell amendment. Mr. Ford Voted AGAINST the bill on final passage.

87th Congress

When a bill to create a Department of Housing and Urban Affairs was blocked in the House Rules Committee, President Kennedy attempted to set up this Department by a Reorganization Plan. He announced that the Secretary of the Department, who would have cabinet status, would be Mr. Robert Weaver. The plan was killed on February 21, 1962, by a vote of 264 to 150. Mr. Ford voted FOR the Reorganization Plan.

On September 13, 1961, the House voted to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission an additional two years. Mr. Ford voted FOR the extension.

88th Congress

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was the most sweeping civil rights legislation considered by the Congress since the passage of the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments. Its passage fulfilled many of the legislative objectives that the NAACP has pursued for over thirty years. Although Congress had passed civil rights laws in 1957 and 1960, the passage of the 1964 Act was a landmark in the history of the civil rights movement.

89th Congress

The 1965 Voting Rights Act, as sent to Congress by the Administration was a strong proposal, but most of the civil rights groups felt that it needed many strengthening and perfecting changes. Civil rights supporters in and out of Congress succeeded in adding language which was incorporated into the final bill. The final version of the bill banned literacy tests for five years, established a system of Federal examiners to aid in voter registration, branded the poll tax as discriminatory and instructed the Attorney General to institute court action to eliminate the tax. On July 6, 1965, the House by a vote of 333 to 85, passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Mr. Ford voted FOR the Voting Rights Act.

Prior to final passage of the Voting Rights Act, Congressman Collier (R-III.) offered a motion to recess the bill to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to report back a Republican substitute which was defeated by a vote of 248 to 171. Mr. Ford voted FOR this motion.

90th Congress

Part of the Administration's original civil rights package in the 90th Congress was a bill to reform the Federal jury system by prohibiting discrimination in the selection of juries. The NAACP worked for this reform for a long time. The bill passed the House by a vote of 307 to 45 on February 26, 1968. Mr. Ford voted FOR the bill.

The Civil Rights Act of 1968 was strengthened in the Senate by the inclusion of an open housing amendment. When the bill returned to the House, Representative Madden (D-Ind.) offered a resolution that made it possible to adopt the Senate bill without change. Had the Madden resolution failed, the bill would have gone to conference where the housing title could have been emasculated or killed. This was the most important House vote on civil rights in the 90th Congress. The Madden resolution carried by a vote of 229 to 195 on April 10, 1968. Mr. Ford voted AGAINST the resolution.

On the same day the House passed the Civil Rights Bill with its open housing provisions by a vote of 250 to 172. Mr. Ford voted FOR final passage of the bill.

A bill to extend the life of the Civil Rights Commission for five years to January 1, 1973, passed the House by a vote of 284 to 89. Mr. Ford FOR the extension.

The NAACP has for years sought passage of a bill that would make it a Federal crime to use force or threats to interfere with the exercise of civil rights. Such a bill passed the House by a vote of 327 to 93 on August 14, 1967. Mr. Ford FOR this bill.

91st Congress

The 1965 Voting Rights Act's ban against literacy tests resulted in nearly a million new Negro registrants in the South. It also made possible the election of over 500 black public officials. The ban against literacy tests was scheduled to expire in August, 1970. The Nixon Administration sought to weaken the law by killing a provision which made it apply automatically to some of the various areas of racial discrimination in voting. The Senate refused to follow the Nixon proposal and instead, on Dec. 13, 1970, by a vote of 66 to 12 approved a bi-partisan bill which contains the strong provisions of the existing law and also gave 18 year olds the right to vote, effective January 1, 1971.

The House Rules Committee granted a rule making it in order for the House to accept the Voting Rights Act as amended by the Senate. The final vote was 384 to 11.

92nd Congress

In the 92nd Congress there were several key votes on Education bills (S. 659 and H. R. 13915), and the Equal Employment Opportunity legislation which were of crucial importance. We are listing a few of them and how Mr. Ford voted.

On November 4, 1971, Congressman William Brownfield (R-N.H.) offered an amendment to the Education bill (S. 659) to postpone the effective date of any court order requiring busing for school desegregation until all legal appeals are exhausted. This would permit school boards to engage in delay indefinitely. This amendment was adopted by a vote of 235 to 125. The NAACP was against this amendment. Mr. Ford voted FOR the amendment.

Another amendment was offered on November 4, 1971, by Congressman John Ashbrook (R-Ohio), which would prohibit the expenditure of Federal funds in any program administered by the Commissioner of Education for transportation or the purchase of equipment for transportation in order to overcome racial imbalance or achieve racial desegregation. This was adopted by a vote of 233 to 124. The NAACP was against this amendment. Mr. Ford voted FOR this amendment.

Also offered on November 4, 1971, was an amendment by Representative Edith Green which was another move to halt pupil transportation. Its purpose was to prevent any employee of a Federal agency from requiring any recipient, as a precondition to receiving Federal funds to bus students or teachers to accomplish desegregation or reduce racial imbalance, and to prevent such Federal employees from influencing state and local recipients in any other way to do so. This was adopted by a vote of 231 to 126. The NAACP was Against this amendment. Mr. Ford voted FOR this.

S. 659, the Education Bill, was sent to a Senate-House Conference. On March 9, 1972, the House by a vote of 272 to 130, INSTRUCTED its Conferees to insist on retaining its anti-busing amendments in the bill. The NAACP was opposed to this unprecedented action by the House. Mr. Ford voted FOR this action.

On August 17-18 the House considered H. R. 13915, a so-called Equal Educational Opportunities Act which is really a vicious piece of legislation designed to halt transportation of children to integrated public schools. By a 245 to 141 Teller vote on August 17, the House adopted an amendment offered by Representative Edith Green to allow the reopening of cases involving court orders or Department of HEW plans for busing in order to bring them into compliance with the Act. The NAACP was against the amendment. Mr. Ford voted FOR the amendment.

Representative Louis Stokes (D-Ohio) offered an amendment to H. R. 13915 which provided that, "Nothing in this Act is intended to be inconsistent with or violative of any provision of the Constitution." This was defeated by a 176 to 197 recorded Teller vote on August 17, 1972. The NAACP was for this amendment. Mr. Ford voted AGAINST this amendment.

The House passed H. R. 13915 by a vote of 282 to 162 on August 18, 1972. The NAACP was against the bill. Mr. Ford voted FOR H. R. 13915.

The Equal Employment Opportunity legislation introduced by Representative Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.) and Gordon Reid (D-N.Y.), was defeated by a vote of 202 to 197 when a substitute bill offered by Representative John Erlenborn (R-Ill.) prevailed. The Erlenborn Substitute made sweeping changes in existing law and omitted coverage of Federal, state and local government employees. Mr. Ford voted FOR the Erlenborn Substitute.

93rd Congress

The highlights of Congressional action so far during this session include passage of H. R. 7232, increasing the minimum wage and extending coverage to six million additional workers. The additional workers include domestics who do not live in the household in which they work. Workers covered by the minimum wage law prior to 1966 will be paid \$2.00 per hour upon enactment of the law and \$2.20 per hour beginning July 1, 1974. In various stages, workers covered since 1966 will have their wages increased with the figure of \$2.20 being paid in the fourth year after enactment of the law. "

By a vote of 213 to 199 on June 6, 1973, the House defeated a Substitute bill (which would have excluded domestic workers among other things) offered by Representative John Erlenborn (R-Ill.) to the Minimum Wage bill. The NAACP was against the Erlenborn Substitute. Mr. Ford voted FOR the Erlenborn Substitute.

On Thursday, June 21, 1973, the House passed H. R. 7024, a bill to set up an independent corporation to operate Neighborhood Legal Services. As amended, the effectiveness of this piece of legislation in obtaining full legal representation for the poor is questionable. However, we are hoping that the Senate will provide a strong bill. The NAACP was for the legal services legislation. Mr. Ford voted FOR final passage.

On June 26, 1973, by a vote of 347 to 53, the House passed H. R. 8277, the Labor-HEW Appropriations bill which contained funds which would continue Community Action programs under the Office of Economic Opportunity through June 30, 1974. (Under Administration plans, this program would have been terminated by June 30, 1973). The NAACP was for CEO funding. Mr. Ford voted AGAINST this bill.

Also on June 26, Congressman Michel (R-Ill) offered an amendment to H. R. 8277 to cut OEO funds which was rejected by a vote of 213 to 156. Mr. Ford voted FOR cutting OEO funds.

Again, on June 26, an amendment was offered to cut OEO funds from H. R. 8277. This amendment offered by Congressman Baker (R-Tenn.) was defeated by a vote of 223 to 110. Mr. Ford voted FOR cutting OEO funds.

On October 10, 1973, the House passed H. R. 9032, known as the D. C. Home Rule bill, by a vote of 343 to 74. This is a landmark since the bill, although weakened, is the first meaningful legislation towards D. C. Home Rule that has been considered by the House.

Throughout the consideration of the Home Rule bill, Mr. Ford had expressed reservations about passage of a strong bill. He was among those who voted for various weakening amendments. However, he did vote FOR the bill on final passage.

'Bugging' Data Links GOP Bigwigs

By Drew Pearson
and Jack Anderson

The famous FBI bug in Fred Black's Sheraton-Capitol Hotel suite, which started the national uproar over eavesdropping, picked up some startling conversations involving House GOP Leader Gerald Ford.

The wiretapping, which had to be authorized by Attorney General Bobby Kennedy, appeared to be aimed in part at spying on Vice President Johnson's southwest political friends. It was known at the time that no love was lost between the Vice President and the late President's brother.

However, the FBI's efficient electronic devices also picked up conversations involving Republicans. Especially interesting is revelation of the manner in which defense contracts became involved in politics.

On April 22, 1963, two AVCO Corporation executives, unaware that their every word was being taped by the FBI, discussed freely how Rep. Ford of Michigan had intervened to help spare them from a Federal investigation.

The Army had awarded AVCO two negotiated contracts to produce transistor radios for tanks, jeeps and other military vehicles. This aroused then-Congressman Earl Wilson (R-Ind.) who raised some sticky questions about the Army's failure to seek competitive bids.

When Government auditors began poking into the matter, AVCO's President James Kerr and executive committee chairman Earl "Red" Blaik hurried to Washington to see what could be done about sidetracking the investigation. Unhappily for them, they stopped by the suite of their Washington representative, Fred Black, to discuss strategy.

What the FBI heard is still supposed to be kept under wraps. The listening device was so secret that the FBI's own internal reports, though highly classified, referred to it only as "Informant WF 1441-C (asterisk)."

Wire-Pulling, 'Bugging'

However, we believe the public is entitled to know about the wire-pulling and wiretapping that goes on in Washington.

In this case, Blaik reported to Kerr on his visit that morning with "Jerry," whom the FBI identified as Rep. Ford. Blaik said Jerry had not only discussed the contract trouble with Wilson but had arranged with House Appropriations

Chairman George Mahon, (D-Tex.) to question Comptroller General Joseph Campbell about his investigation.

"So yesterday afternoon in their meeting, their appropriations meeting," related Blaik, "why they had Campbell in. So they threw it up to Campbell. They wanted to know why he had men over

there, and he said he didn't to do, try to show that there is some stuff in here other than ordinary . . . He was investigating certain aspects of the VRC-12 (Army terminology for the vehicular radios.)"

Kerr, at Blaik's side, said: "I'll send him a transcript of the interview." An incontinent Earl Blaik denied to us that he had ever held any such discussion with Ford.

"I don't think there is anything to all that," he snorted. "I did not talk to Ford. I have no memory of this at all." However, Ford acknowledged receiving a number of calls from Blaik on the VRC-12 contract. As Ford recalled it, AVCO had developed the radios for the Army, therefore had felt entitled to the production contracts without bidding.

Meanwhile, however, an FBI agent called at AVCO's Crosley plant in Cincinnati. Back in Blaik's suite the following day, Blaik phoned Rep. Ford to report this latest development. The FBI bug picked up only Blaik's end of the conversation.

"Say, Jerry," began Blaik, "I want to cut you in on this one thing. Out at Crosley's yesterday, they had an FBI man."

He responded to some remarks from Rep. Ford, then said: "Uh! Uh! Well, he must have made some complaint to the Department of Justice, wouldn't you think so? . . . Yet! That's what he is trying,

is some stuff in here other than ordinary . . . He was investigating certain aspects of the VRC-12 (Army terminology for the vehicular radios.)"

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However, Ford acknowledged receiving a number of calls from Blaik on the VRC-12 contract. As Ford recalled it, AVCO had developed the radios for the Army, therefore had felt entitled to the production contracts without bidding.

Wilson, reached at his home in Bedford, Ind., said that AVCO had been paid by the Army to develop the radios, then had received the first two multi-million-dollar contracts without competition.

The FBI had found some "improprieties," said Wilson, but nothing serious enough to warrant prosecution.

We asked Ford why he would intervene for AVCO, which has no plants in his home state of Michigan. The House Republican Leader explained that he and Blaik have been close friends since teaching days more than 30 years ago.

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Truth Strained on Hill Shadowing

By Jack Anderson

The redoubtable J. Edgar Hoover was straining the truth a bit when he told Senate GOP leader Hugh Scott this week that no member of Congress has been under FBI surveillance.

Competent sources inside the FBI tell us that G-men have shadowed at least four congressmen. They are:

The late Rep. Vito Marcantonio, American Labor, N.Y.

suspected of Communist ties.

ex-Rep. Roland Libonati (D-Ill.) suspected of Mafia

connections; Rep. Cornelius

Gallagher (D-N.J.) suspected of Mafia associations; Rep.

Peter Freilinghuysen (R-N.J.) who was kept under FBI

surveillance briefly to protect

him from a blackmail attempt.

We were unable to confirm

House Democratic leader Hale

Boggs' charge that the FBI

has tapped congressional

phones. But we have estab-

lished that several members of

Congress, including Boggs,

have been investigated by the

FBI as the result of electronic

eavesdropping.

Boggs was one of several

legislators whose names were

picked up on wiretaps during

the FBI's investigation of fixer

Nathan Voloshen and ex-

House aide Martin Sweig. The

FBI subsequently checked into

Boggs' role in helping Eal-

timore contractor Victor

Frenkil get the contract for

constructing a House garage.

House GOP leader Gerald

Ford, who leaped to the House

floor to defend Hoover, from

Boggs' charges, has been

caught up himself in more

than one FBI investigation.

Ford Checked

In the Voloshen-Sweig case,

the FBI learned that a third

member of their fixit team,

Robert Winterberger, some-

times operated out of Ford's

office.

Earlier, the FBI bug in

lobbyist Fred Black's hotel

suite picked up a telephone

conversation between AVCO's

Earl (Red) Black and Ford.

monitored conversation, found

that Black had enlisted Ford's

AVCO defense contract.

and that Ford occasionally had

free rides on AVCO

Black make a breakfast date

over the telephone with Okla-

home's Rep. Carl Albert and

Agents hustled up to Capitol

the next morning, searched in

for Black's car and re-

ported to Hoover: "WFO

President was referring to the

regular news digests he

receives every day.

We have now obtained ac-

cess to some of these digests,

which boil down the daily

press reports into succinct,

easy-to-read capsules.

is a news story allotted more

brief paragraph.

Listening devices have also

been used in the investiga-

tions of Libonati, Gallagher

and other members of Con-

gress. It would be difficult to

prove, however, that wiretaps

have actually been installed

on congressional phones.

Ex-Sen. Edward Long (D-

Mo.), who conducted a Senate

investigation of eavesdrop-

ping, told us that his elec-

tronic experts had made a

sweep of Senate corridors and

had picked up a strong indica-

tion that the offices of ex-Sen-

ators Ralph Harbrough (D-

Tex.) and Maurine Neuberger

(D-Ore.) were bugged. A later

thorough search of their of-

fices, however, failed to un-

cover the listening devices.

Nixon's Summaries

President Nixon charged in

his TV talk with Howard K.

Smith that the media had

given a distorted picture of

the Laos invasion. His view

was based, the President said,

upon a two-week summary of

newspaper and television cov-

erage.

Afterward, press secretary

Ron Zeldner explained that the

President was referring to the

regular news digests he

receives every day.

We have now obtained ac-

cess to some of these digests,

which boil down the daily

press reports into succinct,

easy-to-read capsules.

is a news story allotted more

brief paragraph.

The press coverage of the
Laos invasion usually was summarized in one of two typewritten pages of short items. White House aide Pat Buchanan, who prepares the digests, selects both favorable and critical stories to compress for presidential reading.

The digest for March 23, 1971, for example, began with this item: "The U.S. command indicated the two-day air strikes on NVN were highly successful saying pilots destroyed three missile sites, touching off 100 explosions."

The next item reported: U.S. crews manning the fleet of 600 helicopters which supported SVN's Laos offensive began withdrawing from Khe Sanh as the campaign neared its end. Final units in the Saigon task force retreated under heavy Communist fire."

Next: "U.S. helicopter gunships battling in Laos proved for the first time they are more than a match for hostile tanks, said an army officer just back from the war zone. Even more important, said Lt. Col. Robert Molinelli, U.S. helicopter pilots over Laos met 'the heaviest antiaircraft fire we have ever encountered' and proved they could survive it."

The daily digest devoted more space, in fact, to the coverage of Mr. Nixon's TV appearance with Smith than to the coverage of the Laos fighting.

A-Back Page

WASHINGTON POST
Wednesday, December 13, 1973

Dead To Live Under Way

By James Polk
Star News Staff Writer

Because two men are dead, the records on a secret fund-raising campaign for Vice President nominee Gerald R. Ford may never become known to the public.

A spokesman for Ford says the House GOP leader doesn't know the identity of the donors who gave the \$32,216 for his last campaign in Michigan and doesn't know where any records might be.

The secret money was collected by a Washington-based campaign committee before a new disclosure law took effect in April 1972.

BUT THE treasurer, James G. Morton, a political official for the chemical industry, died early this year. Ford's long-time administrative assistant, Frank Meyer, who helped with the money drive, also died during the race a year ago.

The committee's chairman, Charles Mark, who is a Washington political spokesman for Dow Chemical Co., said Morton had handled all the financial work of the fund-raising effort.

"I have no records," Mark said yesterday. "I doubt if there are any left."

The Committee to Re-elect Gerry Ford, using a post office box address here, had provided nearly half the money spent by Ford's pro-main campaign committees in Michigan last year.

FORD'S PRUSS secretary, Paul Millich, said Ford would make the donors public if he knew who they were.

Much of the money may have come from various special interest groups in Washington, which have been traditional givers in such fund drives. The Ford group is known to have received backing in that period from the coal, oil, mining and dairy industries.

Morton had been director of government relations for the Manufacturers Chemists Association. An official there said yesterday that it had no record of the drive.

Rep. Ford Failed to Report \$11,500

By James H. Falk

Associated Press

House Republican Leader Gerald R. Ford omitted reporting \$11,500 in campaign contributions last fall from stock brokers, bankers, doctors, an oil man and a labor union fund.

But the Michigan congressman says his action "was within the law."

The checks were signed over by Ford to Republican headquarters here at the same time that the party was pumping roughly the same amount—\$12,300—back to Ford's district to pay off post-election debts.

The Michigan congressman, who acts as treasurer of his own main campaign committee, did not list the \$11,500 in contributions on his sworn statement to the House required under the Corrupt Practices Act.

Instead, when the post-election money wound up in other Ford campaign funds in his hometown of Grand Rapids, it was reported as a donation from the Republican Party.

Ford said he turned the checks over to the GOP headquarters because he had reached the limit his own campaign committee could obtain under Michigan law. He said he had no knowledge of how or why the similar amount was fed back into his other campaign groups.

His sworn report to the House said: "I hereby certify that the following is a correct and itemized account of each contribution received for me or by any person for me with my knowledge or consent..."

Ford said in an interview that he had personally endorsed the checks as "Ford for Congress Committee" funneled to the GOP headquarters. He added:

"I would say, under the interpretation of the law as it has been interpreted over the years, that my action was within the law."

Not included on Ford's sworn report were:

- A \$5,000 check from the Securities Industry Campaign Committee, a political fund for Wall Street stock brokers.

- \$3,000 from oilman John M. Shotton of New York City.

- \$2,000 from the Parkers Political Action Committee, a fund for banks which opposed a regulatory bill that eventually was passed by Congress.

- \$1,000 from the political arm of the Postmarkers-Blacksmiths union with headquarters in Kansas City, Kan.

- \$500 from the Michigan Doctors Political Action Committee.

All the checks were listed by the Republican Congressional Committee as coming into its coffers between Oct. 30 and Nov. 9.

The companion Republican National Finance Advisory Committee, run by the same man as GOP headquarters, sent a total of \$11,500 in contributions to two other Ford groups in Grand Rapids Nov. 4 and 20. The GOP headquarters also paid directly \$3,472 in post-election advertising and printing bills from Grand Rapids firms.

In contrast, other Republican House candidates got a maximum of \$7,500 from the congressional group under its spending formula last fall.

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Ford said, "I personally had nothing to do with the post-election flow of money into his district and had no knowledge of how it came about."

Ford, who has served in Congress 22 years and has been GOP leader since 1965, won re-election easily last fall, trouncing Democrat Mrs. Jean McKeen 23,600 votes to 12,000.

The \$50,000 from the Wall Street group was by far its largest single contribution, triple any of its checks for Senate races.

Ford said the check was delivered to his office by Walter Lever, a friend he had known since football days. Ford said, "I didn't ask any questions. He simply brought the check in."

Shabben, whose oil firm has

refineries in Canada, California and Alaska, also described Ford as an old friend. Although his name appears on the GOP's report instead of Ford's, he said his contribution was for Ford and not for any national committee.

"I don't deal with inner-party committees. They waste the money," Shabben said in a telephone interview.

Ford's four campaign committees, including the one he oversaw, plus Latvians for Ford, Veterans for Ford, and the Greek-American Committee for Ford, handled a total

of about \$39,000 in his re-election effort.

In their public reports filed in Grand Rapids, the Latvians and the Veterans listed the \$4,700 they got after Nov. 3 as a contribution from the Republican Congressional Committee.

Other than the GOP money, the major donors to Ford's campaign were listed as Richard M. Scalle, an executive in Muller family firms in Pittsburgh, and Forbes Mann, head of LTV Aerospace Corp. in Dallas. Each gave \$2,000 to either Latvians or Veterans.

Ford Didn't Report \$11,500 Contributed to His Campaign

By JAMES R. FOLK

Associated Press

House Republican Leader Gerald R. Ford did not report \$11,500 in campaign contributions last fall from stock brokers, an oilman, bankers, doctors and a union group.

Instead, the checks given to Ford were detoured through Republican headquarters here while roughly the same amount — \$12,233 — was being fed back to Ford's district to pay off post-election debts.

Through this two-step procedure, names of the special interest groups were not listed on Ford's sworn campaign report to Congress, although the money flowed through his hands.

Disclosure Required

The Corrupt Practices Act requires full public disclosure of all campaign contributions received with a candidate's knowledge or consent.

In an interview, Ford defended his procedures in handling campaign checks as being "within the law."

The Michigan congressman said he signed the checks over to the GOP because he had reached his state's legal limit on the money his own campaign committee could handle. He said he had no knowledge of the GOP giving back more than \$12,000 to other Ford committees.

Checks Not Listed

Not listed on Ford's report to the House were:

- A \$5,000 check from the Securities Industry Campaign Committee. The endorsement on the check shows it was turned over to GOP headquarters before the post-election payoffs began. The \$5,000 donation to Ford was the largest single contribution made by the Wall Street stock brokers' fund.

- A \$2,000 check from the Bankers' Political Action Committee. Other checks from the same group were returned by nearly half the intended recipients in a controversy over an

- A \$1,000 check from John M. Shillcock, head of a New York City oil firm with refineries in Canada, California and Arkansas.

- A \$1,000 check from the political arm of the Lathermesters-Blacksmiths Union with national headquarters in Kansas City, Kans.

- A \$700 check from the Michigan Doctors Political Action Committee.

Own Treasurer

Unlike most candidates, Ford acted as treasurer of his main campaign group, the "Ford for Congress Committee," and

therefore was bound by the Corrupt Practices Act to file a complete report of his money dealings.

However, Ford said, "I would say, under the interpretation over the years, that my action was within the law." He did not elaborate.

In the 45-year history of the Corrupt Practices Act, the Justice Department has never brought a court case against a congressman for campaign wrongdoing.

The \$11,500 in Ford campaign contributions was turned over to the Republican Congressional Committee in a 10-day period just before and after the Nov. 3 election.

A second group, the Republican National Finance Advisory Committee, which is made up of the same men at GOP headquarters, sent four checks totaling \$3,700 to two other Grand Rapids committees, "Michigan for Ford" and "Veterans for Ford" on Nov. 4 and Nov. 10.

It also paid a \$1,700 bill to Inland Inc. in Grand Rapids, which handled Ford's campaign advertising. And the Congressional Fund paid a \$1,100 bill to Inland Inc. in Grand Rapids.

Personally Signed Checks

Ford said he personally signed over the checks that his "Ford for Congress Committee" re-routed to the GOP.

"After we reached the \$10,500 limit set by Michigan law, I would endorse checks over to the congressional committee. After that, I had no knowledge of how the Latvians got their money," Ford said.

He said in past years the GOP had used the excess checks he signed over to it to help out other Republican House candidates in campaign trouble.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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